

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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General Strike Grips Cuba; Unions Banned

The anti-labor policies of the present regime of President Mendieta has sharpened tremendously the class divisions in Cuba. Organized labor, fearing that the offensive of the present regime would lead to loss of the eight hour day, the right to organize and to strike, are retaliating with the only instrument at their command—the strike. Cuba is now in the grip of a general strike which is spreading thruout the country.

On the workers front we find a degree of unity of action not seen for a long time. Both the reformist and revolutionary trade union centers appear to be cooperating very closely to make the strike effective. The waterfront and telephone workers have responded especially well.

Havana is an armed fortress. Soldiers have been called upon to carry out the work of the strikers. In some cases workers are mobilized and forced to carry on at the point of bayonets. The employers and the bourgeois parties are frantically appealing to their supporters to assist the government by remaining at work. Despite all threats the mass of the workers are standing firm and it appears as tho the strike were spreading.

President Mendieta's efforts to have the strike called off and the grievances referred to arbitration have so far failed, workers fearing that the minute the strike is called off vicious repressive measures will immediately follow. The government has therefore decreed the dissolution of all trade unions which have not complied with the order to call off the strike.

The attitude of the employers and the Mendieta government can best be judged by the statement made by a leading official of the telephone company. He declared: "We will fight to the finish. Either the company will be beaten or the labor syndicate (trade union) will be destroyed."

Haverhill Shoe Men Go on Strike

Haverhill, Mass.

The Haverhill shoe industry was struck completely this morning (Monday, March 5), 8,000 shoe workers leaving their shops. The proposal for strikes was adopted at four big mass meetings held Sunday night at City Hall, Eagles Hall and at Moose Hall. Over 4,000 members participated in the meetings with hundreds being turned away for lack of room. The largest of the four meetings at City Hall was addressed by Secretary Zimmerman of the General Coordinating Committee.

The demands of the strike are: Recognition of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union and the signing of the United Agreement; No arbitration of any kind; Increase of 10% to 20% in the weakest departments; No Saturday work; No overtime work and a Minimum hourly rate.

The complete tie up of the industry threw the manufacturers into a panic and they immediately asked the Regional Labor Board to intervene. The District Council of the United flatly refused to call off the strike. Already, during the first day of the strike 38 shops have settled among them 5 association shop.



JACINTO G. MANAHAN

Wall Street Jails Filipino Rebel

The following letter from Jacinto G. Manahan, was written just before he was committed to jail for fighting for the independence of the Philippines. In these few lines is exposed the whole hypocritical attitude of American imperialism towards "our brown brothers", and the duplicity of all these bills in Congress and public pronouncements of the government about Philippine independence while jailing those who struggle for independence.

Jay Lovestone, Jan. 24, 1934.
Dear Comrade:

We received your letter of Dec. 18, 1933, as an answer to our letter (Continued on Page 2)

One Year of the NRA; Results and Tasks

The N.R.A. has just passed the one year mark. Its first birthday was celebrated by a barrage of criticism both from the right and left. From the right the opposition is of a twofold nature. The first type of opposition comes from the die-hard individualists who are still not convinced that it is necessary to tinker with the "natural laws of capitalist development". The other type of opposition comes from a recognition of the failure of NRA as a recovery measure and a frantic search for modifications and changes.

Lovestone-Cannon Debate Draws 1200

New York City.

Over 1,200 workers filled the large Irving Plaza Hall to hear Lovestone and Cannon debate the issue—"The Crisis In The Communist International".

Jay Lovestone, for the Communist Opposition defended the position of reforming and unifying the Communist International. He portrayed the utter collapse of the whole edifice of ultra leftism as constructed by the Comintern; analyzed the debacle in Germany as a defeat for tactical line of the Comintern but of bankruptcy of the principles of Social-democracy. Pointing out that despite the ruinous tactical course, the C.I. has not departed from the fundamental premise of Communism, he insisted that no principle base exists for establishing a new or "Fourth International" and that efforts to establish such are based on an approach to centrism.

Cannon, speaking for a "Fourth International", was exceptionally eloquent in his attacks against the Soviet Union. To Cannon the Comintern is no longer a problem since it has completely disappeared. The Bolshevik Party is no longer that, the mantle of Bolshevism being confined to the Trotsky support-

From the ranks of the labor movement come loud wails of disappointment at the way in which NRA has worked out. Even such leaders as Norman Thomas and Judge Jacob Panken who shouted their hosannas for NRA on both sides of the Atlantic now begin to see the light. For organized labor NRA has brought a tremendous growth of company unionism. What has been accomplished in the way of the growth of the trade unions has come about despite NRA rather than because of it. Mary Van Kleeck has summed up very well the effects of NRA. It has brought, she said, many hopes for labor and great power for the bosses.

The collapse of NRA as a recovery measure was made less apparent thru the rapid introduction of the C.W.A. (which is not part of the NRA). Thru the actual operation of NRA little or no increase of employment resulted—witness the present movement for the 30-hour week—since the code hours in the codified industries were actually higher than the average operating hours. Nor has NRA brought any increase in buying powers since the campaign of artificial price pegging and money inflation have simultaneously decreased buying powers. The present wide movement of opposition (Continued on Page 3)

Program of the Dressmakers Progressive Group

The elections in our local are fast approaching. Soon the members will be faced with the problem of choosing a new administration, new officers, delegates to the International convention. Soon the members will be faced with the question: For whom to vote and why? The Dressmakers Progressive Group comes to you with an appeal to support its candidates on the basis of the record and accomplishments of the progressive administration of our Local as well as on the basis of its program for the future. Today more than ever must the dressmakers prevent confusion from being brought into our ranks by slander and abuse, in which some elements in our Union specialize; today more than ever must the dressmakers safeguard their Union by supporting those who have always advocated a constructive program and who have their ability to fight for this program and to carry it out into life.

Our Record of Achievement

The record of achievement of the Dressmakers Progressive Group speaks for itself. It is clear and well known to all Union members.

1. When the membership of our Local ousted the old reactionaries and placed the progressive elements into office, we found hardly any life or activity in our organization. General apathy and discouragement prevailed. In line

with our attitude of relying upon the mass support of the workers, the progressive administration immediately started a campaign to build up the morale of the membership, to dissipate the prevailing atmosphere of pessimism and infuse a new spirit into the Union. To accomplish this, the progressives initiated a drive to enforce conditions in the shops as well as to prepare for a general strike. A committee of twenty-five rank and file was elected to carry on this campaign, which was successful in arousing and bringing back into activity thousands of dressmakers. In this way, we made it possible to maintain our Union when conditions were at their worst.

The Progressives Built The Union

2. In the most trying period of the crisis, when it was difficult to keep even the skeleton of an organization, when even the rent and telephone bills could not be met, the progressives loyally stuck to the Union, fighting hard to maintain and to build it, to raise the morale and the confidence of the active members. This was accomplished in spite of all the obstacles placed in our way inside and outside the Union. The reactionary elements carried on a per-

sistent and vicious campaign against the progressive administration, sneering at, ridiculing and undermining every attempt to infuse a fighting spirit into the dressmakers. These people refused even to participate in the last elections because the Local treasury was empty; apparently

PROGRESSIVE GROUP WINS IN LOCAL 22 ELECTIONS

The progressives in Dressmakers Union Local 22 scored a big victory when the entire progressive slate for the Election and Objection Committee (the committee to supervise the Local elections) was elected at a series of section meetings held on Thursday, March 8. Not a single one of the nineteen "Left Group" candidates or of the six "Independent" (right wing) came anywhere near being chosen. The progressive vote of 2,200 represented a lead of about 700 over the nearest "Left Group" candidate. The progressive vote was especially noteworthy in its great strength among the new elements of the union who had come into the organization during the general strike and after.

The regular elections in the Local take place on March 22.

they are "loyal" to the Union only when the treasury is full! On the other side we were faced with the dual unionist splitters who carried on an unprecedented campaign of slander and demoralization from within the Union and from without. Their aim was to confuse the dressmakers with the fake slogans of "united front", to split our ranks and to build the dual Industrial Union. Their agents from within, parading under the name of "Left Group Opposition", opposed everything our Union attempted to do for the dressmakers; they even opposed our proposals for one union in the trade. They came to all the meetings with the intention of disrupting them, just as these same people are doing today. Anything that would weaken our Union they regarded as to their advantage.

Clearly understanding the progressive program of militant unionism and one union in the industry, the membership of Local 22 wholeheartedly supported the administration in its fight against both the reactionaries and the dual unionists.

The Progressives And The NRA
3. With the coming of the NRA, unionism faced a crisis. Many conservative union leaders had

hoped that from then on the union would not have to do anything any more, that the NRA would organize the workers and give them better conditions. Our progressive administration immediately sounded the alarm. We realized that the only way the workers could win any improvement of conditions was by fighting for it, that the NRA would grant nothing unless it had been won in struggle. Therefore our administration began an agitation for a general strike and began to mobilize the membership for it. Our campaign got a splendid response from the active members of the Union but, in line with its general policy of obstruction, the "Left Group Opposition" opposed even this proposal for a general strike. These so-called "militants" demanded "guarantees" before they would support the general strike!

The General Strike

4. The general strike of last August showed how correct were the program and policies of the progressive administration of our Local. This strike was the greatest in the whole history of the dress trade. The eyes of the entire labor movement were turned upon it in surprise and admiration. As a consequence of the splendid response of the dressmakers, as a result of militant mass picket (Continued on Page 6)

JAY LOVESTONE "Fascist Trends in America"
March 16, 8 P.M., 51 W. 14 St.

The Group at Work

The Communist Opposition reacted quickly to the important developments in connection with the armed struggle of the Austrian workers against Fascism. C.P.O. members in Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., introduced a resolution calling for a general stoppage. This started the movement for a general strike which took place on Friday, February 16, involving 500,000 workers.

On short notice a mass meeting was arranged by the New York District on the Austrian Revolt, with Comrade Lovestone as the speaker. About 600 workers packed the hall. Our Hartford organization also conducted a successful meeting on Austria with Comrade Saul Held as the speaker. Down Town Branch One of New York made a voluntary collection of \$15 for the publication of a leaflet on the Austrian events. Our Detroit comrades showed good initiative in issuing 3,000 leaflets on Austria and the disruption of the Madison Square Garden meeting.

A Letter From Grand Rapids
The attitude of workers and C. P. members to the work of the Communist Party is shown in numerous letters being received by the national office of the C.P.O. The following are excerpts from a letter by G. A.

"I am a younger worker... have been affiliated with the Young Communist League and the International Labor Defense.... On the first of May 1933 a parade took place in which only communist organizations participated. On June 30 a United Front Tom Mooney Conference was held but it had to be postponed because the attendance was so poor. With the I.L.D. it is also bad. The branch that I joined was short lived. It is now out of existence. Late in October I was dropped from the Young Communist League because I was unemployed and failed to pay dues. Accidentally I found part of a Workers Age and took it home with me to read. Since then I have been interested in the C.P.O."

Since writing the above letter Comrade G. A. has joined the C. P.O. and is busy organizing a branch in Grand Rapids.

A Letter From A Farmer

The effects of the Party sectarian line in the farmers field is shown just as dramatically in the following letter from a farmer:

"I have read the two articles in the Jan. 15 issue of Workers Age and also the article in the Dec. 15 issue with which I fully agree.

The articles from Omaha are especially good and show a clear understanding of what is taking place here in the middle west in regard to the farmers and the Communists.

As a delegate from Nebraska to the first Farmers National Relief Conference in Washington, D. C. I know how close the C.P. came to splitting up and ruining the effect of the conference by their stupid tactics. In fact until learning of the C.P.O. I had about made up my mind that all Communists were crazy.

The C. P. leaders we have come in contact with here seem to be lacking in everything necessary to gain the confidence of the farmers. Their main ambition seems to be to dominate and control the farm movement, raise the red flag and start a premature proletarian war dance with a handful of bewildered followers who have little or no influence among their fellow farmers. Do they imagine they can make Marxists out of Republicans and Democrats in a few months?

Leaders of the farm movement must be developed from

the ranks of the farmers. No theoretically trained college student is capable of understanding the proper tactics without actual experience. In my opinion the tactics used by the official C. P. is tearing down even more than they build up in radical farm organization.

I have read the pamphlet "What is the Communist Opposition" and find it very interesting and instructive.

Fraternally yours.

K. D.—Nebraska

Workers Age At Work

The two letters demonstrate clearly the value of our paper and our literature. In one case it resulted in a member of the Y.C.L. joining us for an effective fight for a unified Communist Party fighting with correct tactics. In the other case it proved to a working farmer that not "all communists were crazy". It proved to this working farmer that what was wrong was not communism but the tactics which were being applied by the official communists. We are certain that this militant farmer will find it possible to join us for an effective fight also in the farm field.

How our literature is serving as

a powerful ideological and organizational weapon, even in distant lands, is shown by a letter from Denmark by V. E. C. This worker writes:

"I am very glad to have received your pamphlet 'What's the C.P.O.' which I have already read.

I am living in a little town and am trying to make young Socialists and Communists think for themselves. It is not so easy. The Social-democrats here are hailing Roosevelt's recovery schemes as Socialist proposals. I am using to very good advantage your articles and pamphlet on this question."

We see that our literature on NRA is serving well in the liquidation of illusions about the NRA not only among American workers but also among European workers.

Forward To Build The Workers Age

All branches of the C.P.O., the entire membership, must utilize the present drive to secure 750 new subscribers and 2500 new readers for Workers Age. This is one of the most effective ways for building up a progressive movement in the trade unions, for building the C.P.O. and for winning the workers for Communism.

LABOR PARTY IN FORT WAYNE

by Harry Connor

To understand the question of a Labor Party in Fort Wayne and in Indiana we must examine its relation to our group since it was initiated and developed.

It was in June 1932 that the first steps were taken to proceed with work for a Labor Party. This was attempted thru the Allen County Unemployed Association which had a membership of 14,000. The question of a Labor Party was raised, and altho, no permanent organization was formed, the idea became deep rooted among the unemployed, veterans, farmers and trade unions. So strong was this sentiment in Fort Wayne and in Indiana generally that Governor McNutt postponed all elections for one year under the guise of economy. This step instead of discouraging the workers has rather intensified their efforts.

The C. P. with its present ultra-left line has completely rejected the Labor Party. The present leadership of the Party can do nothing but slander and discredit the real efforts of the workers to achieve genuine, independent working class political action. The Labor Party is a promising field for mass work today and the C.P.O. must turn its attention to this work. Communist leaders who fail to recognize this fact must keep in mind the words of Engels to the Socialist Labor Party in 1887: "They deserve to perish because they do not understand their real principles." To divorce the workers, politically, from the capitalist class, is the first step of the American communist movement. The last elections showed plainly that the mass of the workers still follow the bourgeoisie.

At the present time with the intensive attack on the workers standards, thru the New Deal, the preparations for another imperialist war, the exposure of all social reforms, the chances for developing the workers politically are promising.

With the C. P. mouthing empty revolutionary phrases it cannot take advantage of the opportunity to develop the political consciousness of the workers. It is the duty of the C. P. O. to win leadership in developing this movement. The Socialist Party with its worship of bourgeois democracy, its attempt to doctor capitalism and its opposition to a Labor Party is only misdirecting the masses. The Muste

group which has assumed a left social-reformist position is playing a sorry role.

The work for Labor Parties in the municipal elections and the development of a base for a national movement, devolves therefore upon us—upon the C.P.O. That this calls for the most intensive campaign in the trade unions is self evident. Because to the open class collaboration policy of the A. F. of L. the Labor Party is a direct challenge.

The Labor Party will also achieve a real united front thru which the C.P.O. will be able to expose the real role of the capitalist government, the treachery of the Socialists, the stupidities of the official communists, the reactionary character of the trade union bureaucrats and the fraud of the Musteists.

A real Labor Party must be based on the trade unions on other labor organizations, and on the farmers organizations and should be inclusive of all existing working class political parties which may desire to affiliate as bodies. It must be careful to exclude politicians of big and little business.

In such a Labor Party we must develop the workers to a higher political level and win as many of the advanced workers as possible to communism.

We realize, however, that a Labor Party has its limitations. It will not lead the workers to their emancipation. This is the role of a Communist Party. But the fight for a Labor Party will take the workers a step forward, will cause a break from the Siamese twins of Capitalism. This is the historical need of the present moment.

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WALL STREET JAILS FILIPINO REBEL

(Continued from Page 1)

ter with the enclosed resolutions against the Hawes-Cutting-Hare Act and demanding for complete, immediate and absolute independence of the Philippine Islands.

We are very glad to hear of the great interest you have shown in our national aspiration and for your unconditional support for our independence and in our struggle against American imperialism.

Kindly send us at least three copies of the regular issue of the Workers Age and some extra copies, if there are some articles or news that will be of great interest for the Filipino workers and peasants.

I am writing this letter on the eve of my entrance to Bilibid prison. I will surely enter jail tomorrow, Jan. 25, 1934, at 8:00 a.m. I was accused of sedition and sentenced to one year imprisonment; one thousand pesos (1,000.00); and eight years banishment.

Please extend to the American workers and farmers our warmest fraternal greetings.

Fraternally yours,
Jacinto G. Manahan,
President.
Philippine National Confederation
of Workers and Peasants.

- DEBATE -

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The Economic Fallacies of the N. R. A.

This is the second article by Jay Lovestone in the series "The Economics of the Roosevelt Program." This article on the "Economic Consequences and Fallacies of the NRA will be continued in the forthcoming issue—Editor.

ECONOMIC FALLACIES OF THE NEW DEAL

The logicians tell us that logic has six cardinal fallacies. The theologians preach against seven most deadly sins. It is high time that the New Deal economists begin to canonize at least eight specific deceptions in the Roosevelt economic program.

In the order of their weight the following eight fallacies are inherent in the New Deal economies.

The Fallacy of Price Raising

1). Price raising fallacy: The New Deal assumes that if prices are raised, then, the employers will want to produce and that, then, economic life will revive. It is ridiculous to assume that raising commodity prices insures the sale of goods. It does not follow that raising of prices will increase sales merely because, often, big sales tend to bring on a price increase. It is ridiculous to assume that because a rise in production may, on certain occasions, be accompanied by a rise in prices that, therefore an artificial rise in prices (secured through a deliberate increase of prime cost or through restriction of production) will necessarily occasion a rise in total production. Rising output is sometimes accompanied by falling prices and falling prices sometimes bring increased output because the demand is thereby increased. This trend generally flows out of an extensive rationalization of industry. The truth of this contention is brought home vividly in a comparison of price levels in the 1921 crisis and the 1929 prosperity. Prices at the bottom of the 1921 crisis were somewhat higher than prices at the peak of the 1929 prosperity.

Relation of Production and Purchasing Power to

Employment Trends

2). Another fallacy inherent in the New Deal Economics is a misunderstanding of the relations between production and purchasing power on the one hand, and employment trends on the other. It is assumed by the New Dealers that if employers begin to increase production, then, many workers will be hired. This assumption is increasingly false because it overlooks the role of labor-saving machinery under the capitalist system. Less and less is the increase in the number of workers engaged in production directly proportional to the total increase in production. It might be argued that there is a tendency today to slow down on the introduction of new machinery. However, this phenomenon, to the extent that it does manifest itself, is more than counteracted by the fact that even when there is some shortening of the hours of labor it is accompanied by much intensified exploitation of the workers.

It is further assumed by the Roosevelt economists that, if workers are re-employed, there necessarily follows a huge increase in the volume of purchasing power. This assumption is as hollow as the others from which it directly flows. The mere fact that a number of workers may be rehired does not in itself necessarily enhance proportionately the total purchasing power. With the increase in prices thru artificial measures, such as the cheapening of money and other sundry inflationary practices, the total purchasing power is often not increased even to the extent of the limited increase in the number of workers rehired.

Relation of Agriculture to Industry

3). Another basic fallacy of the New Dealers' economic program is its misconception of the relationship between agriculture and industry in the present economic system. The fallacies and futilities of Rooseveltian economics are brought into bold relief by the fact that it overlooks the divisions within the capitalist economic organism itself—the inferior, disadvantageous position to which agriculture is doomed in its relation to the more highly technically developed, to the much more rationalized, industry. Let's see how the Roosevelt agrarian economics look in life. There's every reason to believe that the 15% curtailment of acreage provided for by government con-

The Roosevelt Program-II

by Jay Lovestone

tract will not cut down the wheat crop in the coming year by a bushel. For one thing, many farmers who had refrained from wheat-growing in the past two years are ineligible for the agreement and are now re-entering wheat-production because they are lured by the possibility of higher prices. Besides, there is also a good deal of talk in mid-Western states about the mounting bootleg production. There are numerous cases in which the farmers lease to the government the poorest land and increase the yield per acre on the better land. Clearly, the Roosevelt Administration cannot make much headway in its stimulating a decrease in the production of wheat.

The Farmers and the Processing Tax

The White House has been making much out of the processing tax. However, reality presents a different picture. A number of farm groups have made and are making pleas to Congress for exemption from the benefits of a processing tax because they maintain that the consumer cannot possibly pay more and they fear, therefore, that any tax would simply fall upon the producers (the farmers), resulting in further unsold products. Their experience has taught them that high prices discourage purchases.

Agriculture and the World Market

Essentially the agricultural dilemma is something like this: The United States must either produce only for the domestic market and raise high protective tariff walls against foreign agrarian competitors or it must produce for the world market. If the United States does produce for the world market, then it must be prepared to accept foreign goods equivalent to the value of its exports or else be prepared to export considerable capital in these days when there is little chance of such foreign loans ever being repaid. More than that. Should the United States produce for the world markets, then, the American farmers will have to bring their costs down to a point where they stand a chance to compete with the costs, let us say in Roumania, or the Argentine, where both land and farm-labor are both cheaper. There is an even more serious difficulty. This is the job of convincing foreign countries to accept American products at a time when all countries tend increasingly to cut down all kinds of imports. But should the U. S. confine its agricultural production to its domestic needs, then, it must either raise tremendously the purchasing power of its urban population, primarily the working class and lower middle classes of the cities, or else it must cut down appreciably the total number of producers. It is conservatively estimated that in the case of cotton the number of producers must be reduced by at least half.

The total farm and home indebtedness is approximately 33 billion dollars. The Roosevelt Administration will find it impossible to meet the grave problems arising out of this heavy indebtedness with its 4 billion dollar bond scheme, and its cutting down of interest from 6 to 5 or 4½ percent. Recently the government was compelled to extend its guaranty from interest to principal payments so that creditors should be willing to exchange their mortgages for government bonds. Furthermore, one must not lose sight of the fact that farmers are not the only ones burdened with crushing mortgages.

Fallacies of the Money Policy

4). The entire money policy of the New Deal is fallacious. It is not money that renders commodities measurable. Just the opposite is the case. It is because all commodities—as values—are realized human labor—and, therefore, measurable—that their values can be measured by one and the same special commodity and the latter (gold) can be converted into the common measure of their values, that is, into money. The New Dealers do not understand that the inherent measure of value in all commodities is the socially necessary labor-time and that money is merely the yardstick of this. Stretching, re-

dividing or tampering with the yardstick never changes the fibre, the cloth or the quality of the goods measured. Gold has as its first chief function the supplying of commodities with the material for the expression of their values. Gold becomes money only thru its functioning as a universal measure of value. When gold is an agent of the process of circulation of money it, then, acquires the function of serving as the medium of circulation. Surely the New Dealers know that when one commodity replaces another money always sticks to the hand of some third person. Marx once put it this way: "Circulation sweats money from every pore."

Factors Governing Fluctuation of Money

The main and almost sole method of distribution of commodities in capitalist society is exchange—that is, unorganized market distribution. It is in the process of exchange that every class and every member of the class receives his or her share of the social product. There is no such thing as direct social distribution today except, at most, in the family. Therefore, money is an essential driving power in capitalist production. For the normal process of capitalism it is absolutely necessary that money should circulate properly, unhindered. But the fluctuation of money is no simple matter determined by a presidential decree, a Congressional enactment, or even a Supreme Court decision. The fluctuation of money depends on the following factors: One, the changes in the quantity or the prices of goods on the market. Two, the changes in the extent and the very technique of credit. Three, the changes in the rapidity of the process of circulation or the turnover of money. In normal capitalist times, the law of value in the case of gold operates in this process: Given a stable distribution of labor-power in the various fields of production, then, an increase in gold production will tend to stimulate a demand for goods and, consequently, may tend to cause a rise in prices. But the New Deal is certainly not operating in normal capitalist times. Today, especially, the sickness of the whole economic life of capitalism is reflected in the movement of prices—all its inter-crossings; here rapid, there stagnant.

* * *

Many vulgar economists (Cassel, Seligman) have therefore, concluded that the quantity of the circulating medium depends upon the quantity of precious metals in a country and that, consequently, the quantity of the circulating medium determines the price levels. This is utterly absurd. These highly-advertised experts assume that commodities are without a price and money without a value when they first enter into circulation. All facts refute this gold quantity theory of price. The champions of managed currency and other such "remedies" told us in 1919-1920 that the great volume of money and bank credit then available would prevent any substantial drop in prices. But soon prices plunged 49% in the United States! Then, came the gold torrent to the United States. But prices didn't rise anywhere near what this theory supposed. There is plenty of gold and loads of credit in the United States today. But how prices have fallen!

* * *

Maynard Keynes has made some very appropriate characterizations of the quantity theory of money which is the foundation of the Rooseveltian money policy. To think that output and income can be raised by increasing the quantity of money is, according to Keynes, "like trying to get fat by buying a larger belt." This British economist, who dared to tell the bourgeois governments in the heydays of the Versailles Peace negotiations that they were going to reap a whirlwind, now rushes the following advice to the White House: "It is an even more foolish application of the same ideas to believe that there is a mathematical relation between the price of gold and the price of other things." But the recent gyrations of the dollar have looked to me more like a gold standard on the booze than the ideal managed currency of my dreams." Mr. Keynes has apparently yet to find out that managed currency is a euphonious name for managed chaos especially when the balance between production and consumption is so gravely disturbed as it is today.

(To be continued)

COMMUNISM AND THE FARMER

by Faith P. Baldwin

I read in the Workers Age an article from a farmer. He said he detested the official communists but thought your pamphlets sensible.

My own family are Vermont farmers who have an electric milking machine and make Grade A milk which they sell to Sheffield farms who ship it to New York. Like other farmers round about they are deeply in debt. I have two young brothers who are skilled mechanics as well as farmers. They work harder than their ancestors ever did in an almost savage attempt to get out of debt.

I have been reading the tactics of Lenin toward the peasants. They will not work with Eastern farmers at least, as our farmers have not the psychology of peasants. But if you could prove to them that the sheds make a profit out of all proportion to the service they render they would begin to see some practical sense to Communism, which is otherwise a bitter pill to them, because they love their land. But if they knew that they were ruining themselves to give the big companies 14% to 30% profit, their faith in the ex-

isting order might be shaken.

The great difficulty of the farmers whom I know, when they have tried to unite and win a voice in marketing and prices, is that they cannot get enough capital to wait the months that they must wait to capture the markets from the big wealthy companies who already have the contracts. Again and again large aggregations of farmers have tried and failed with consequent bitter ruin until they are now pretty well disillusioned. A year ago there was such an attempt which my family did not join because there was no provision for Grade A milk. Many farmers who did join were ruined.

As far as I can see the great difficulty with spreading Communism among farmers is that there is nothing for them to do immediately. I do not think that they should be in any wise "bribed" into communism. They must be communists if they are to accomplish anything and their notions of pri-

ivate ownership must be uprooted.

Another matter of interest to farmers is the apparent conflict of economic advantage between East and West. The Eastern milk farmers' greatest pain comes, probably, from his grain bill. To feed a balanced ration he must buy one-half to one-third of his grain. By the time all the freight charges and profits are added in, the bill eats up the milk check. Slight wonder that the eye turned on the Western farmers' troubles is not filled with purely fraternal affections. If his grain bill would be less under Communism, it would sound pretty good to him.

One of the greatest obstacles to Communism among farmers is of course the same trouble Russia had with her Kulaks. My father says with her Kulaks: "Communism is nonsense. If I turned my farm over to my hired men, they couldn't run it. If they could let them buy land and try business for themselves. There is plenty for sale and they had the same chance I had." If you could show that communism is something more than merely turning the ownership of

property to men not qualified to run it efficiently, I think that farmers would be rather attracted to its ideals.

I do not underestimate the colossal difficulties in the way of farmers becoming communists but I can see avenues of approach. They are as specialized as industry in many ways and I think they are getting themselves into the same insuperable difficulties of wasteful, planless overproduction as the other capitalists are, with this difference—no control over prices. The more I think over it the more it seems to me that there is not the most remote connection between the Russian peasants and the American farmers. Knowledge of machines, you know, forms the real link between farmers and factory workers. If they had some direct dealings with each other instead of being separated by a host of profit makers, their real community of interests would be clear. As it is, the farmers hear only of strikes for, what seem to them, absurdly short working hours and, I suppose, the city workers only of higher prices, while prices are too high for them already.

ONE YEAR OF THE NRA

(Continued from Page 1)

to price fixing is continuing to undermine another essential tenet of the so-called recovery scheme.

The systematic efforts of the National and Regional Labor Boards to call off strikes and hamper strike action has tied the hands of the unions (those who are naive enough to abide by these requests) but has given free rein to the bosses thru the growth of company unions and arbitration to devitalize the trade union movement and render it helpless. The proposed Wagner Bill, supposedly tending to limit the growth of company unions, would in practice saddle the labor movement with compulsory arbitration machinery and would bring back the worst features of the Industrial Court Laws—remember Kansas.

The way out is the way of direct struggle of the workers against the bosses. To break thru the bonds of National and Regional Labor Board decrees. To fight against compulsory arbitration measures. To mobilize the whole trade union movement for a frontal attack on the company unions. The trade unions must be cleaned out and prepared for struggles to improve the conditions of the broad masses of workers.

A. M. BINGHAM "Winning the Middle Classes" Mar. 18, 8 P.M., 51 W. 14 St.

THE COLLAPSE OF AUSTRO-MARXISM

Austria and Revolution

by Will Herberg

The New York Times of March 8, 1934 carries excerpts of a pamphlet by Otto Bauer in which the quotations given below are substantiated and underscored. We will comment on this pamphlet in future issues of Workers Age—Editor.

The five-day armed struggle of the Austrian workers against the hordes of Heimwehr Fascism was exclusively a Social-democratic action. Practically all the workers who fought and died in these great days were Social-democrats, and their leaders, political and military, were all prominent Social-democratic officials. The Communist Party of Austria, weak and insignificant as no factor at all, while the official Communist press all over the world found nothing better than to indulge in an orgy of poisonous misrepresentation and slander.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the fact remains that the Austrian events reflect most decisively the traditional viewpoint of Social-democracy and confirmed to the hilt the basic principles of Communism! It is well worth while to review the lessons of the Austrian revolt in this light.

Significance Of Austrian Revolt

In their fundamental aspects the Austrian events went far beyond the immediate struggle against Fascism. For five days there was revolution in Austria—civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie! It is precisely the revolutionary character of their own acts that caused such consternation among the Social-democratic spokesmen. For they have always championed a directly contrary standpoint in their theory and in their propaganda, that in modern society the political class struggle is to be conducted along "civilized and democratic" lines, largely thru the medium of democratic institutions, which offer the road to "peaceful revolution." The annihilating refutation that Social-democratic theories received at the hands of the Austrian Social-democratic workmen has driven the reformists to the point of apologizing for their own acts or repudiating their real significance. The military head of the insurrection, Dr. Julius Deutsch, indignantly denies that the Austrian workers revolted at all. On page 12 of the February 24 issue of The New Leader we are told that, after the first few days, "it was revealed that there had been no Socialist 'revolt'." That James O'Neal vaguely murmurs about the "final conflict" in the same issue only indicates the depth of the utter confusion engendered by the smashing contradiction between reformist theory and revolutionary life! The Social-democrats cannot altogether deny their own acts but they have neither the political courage nor the political clarity to avow them for what they are!

And in truth was there ever a more striking confirmation of the revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Communist, thesis that, in existing society, the class struggle continues to rage in more or less concealed forms until it bursts into open civil war, into violent revolution? Was there more striking confirmation that, as class relations grow strained, as the political crisis grows acute, parliamentary democratic institutions rapidly fall into complete insignificance if they are not contemptuously brushed aside altogether, so that it is the sheerest folly for the proletariat to rely upon them for the seizure of governmental power? With their own life blood have the Austria Social-democrats signed their names to the fundamental principles underlying the Communist movement!

Bourgeois Democracy Or Proletarian Dictatorship

Suppose the Austrian revolt had triumphed militarily and had somehow avoided defeat at the hands of foreign intervention? What next? Would the Austrian Social-democrats have permitted the capitalist class to remain in possession of the means of production? Would they have restored the constitutional forms of parliamentary democracy on the basis, perhaps, of a coalition government with the "constitutional" wing of the Christian Socials, Dollfuss's

own party? In other words, again the question is placed: Bourgeois democracy or proletarian dictatorship?

Thru all official statements of the Austrian Social-democracy runs the familiar refrain that the Austrian workers were fighting only to "save the constitution", to "preserve democracy and the republic." In the American Socialist statements on the Austrian events the old condemnation of "dictatorship in all forms" frequently appears. In the very issue (February 24, 1934) arising to articles on the Austrian rising is published an address by B. C. Vlaček rehearsing all the threadbare liberal platitudes about the virtues of "pure democracy" and the viciousness of all "dictatorships, irrespective of their forms and purposes." Apparently, therefore, official Social-democracy saw as the ultimate aim of the uprising the restoration of bankrupt bourgeois parliamentarism, the very system within which the forces of Fascism arose and grew strong. Otto Bauer was ready to lead the workers over the bloody road of 1918 stretching from Weimar to the Third Reich! Would the masses of Austrian Social-democrats, with the awful example of Germany staring them in the face, with their own fifteen years of "democracy" shouting aloud their warning, have followed docilely this road to ruin? After all 1934 is not 1918—the fresh blooms of "pure democracy" have grown somewhat withered and stale in the poisonous atmosphere of Fascism. Vlaček's sickeningly reactionary

blast against "dictatorships in all forms" finds a striking refutation in the article by Dr. S. Lipshitz in the very same issue of The New Leader ("The Hour of Decision", page 10). "Here we are presented with some of the main features of the programmatic declaration issued last month by the Prague executive of the German Social-democracy, with special emphasis on the third chapter dealing with 'the exercise of power . . . after the overthrow of Fascism and the seizure of the state power by labor.' 'We are glad to note,' Dr. Lipshitz says, 'that (this program) acknowledges the shortcomings of the German Social-democracy in 1918 after the collapse of the mighty empire.' And how is German Social-democracy going to avoid in the future its 'shortcomings' of the past, i.e., its utterly counter-revolutionary course in 1918 and 1919? It now declares that, once Fascism is overthrown, it will be necessary to set up a 'revolutionary government' (a 'virtual dictatorship' which shall 'immediately expropriate the great landowners without compensation, immediately expropriate without compensation and socialize the heavy industries, immediately socialize the banks. . . . completely destroy the old political, economic and social apparatus, suppress all counter-revolutionary activities, organize a revolutionary military and police force. . . .'

What becomes now of Vlaček's

cherished "liberty" of Bauer's prized "democracy"? Apparently even the German leaders, with their ear to the ground to catch the turn of the mood among the workers at home, are beginning to lose their enthusiasm for these moth-eaten heirlooms of Social-democracy!

With Germany and Austria be-

"Have the German Social-democratic leaders embraced the doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship? Hardly! The same programmatic declaration continues:

"The erection of the free people's state can and must only be begun after the revolutionary power has become sufficiently entrenched and all political positions of the counter-revolution have been thoroughly destroyed. (No period for the length of this virtual dictatorship is given.—Note by Dr. Lipshitz). After the firm consolidation of all revolutionary achievements, an assembly of the people's representatives, elected by general, free, equal direct and secret suffrage, shall be called. . . ."

Need we recall Marx's scathing annihilation of the nonsense of the "free peoples state" in his critical notes on the Gotha Program? More important is the fact that the Social-democratic program relapses into parliamentary democratic cretinism after all. After a revolutionary dictatorship has won and consolidated the gains of the proletariat, it proposes to lose them all again by reestablishing parliamentary institutions and providing political points of vantage for all reactionary social forces!

more him, who can today champion parliamentary democracy as the governmental form of the workers state, who can today challenge the utter validity of the Marxist doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship as the political form of the transition period from capitalism to communism? With their life blood have the Austrian Social-democrats signed their names to the fundamental principles that lie at the basis of the Communist movement!

Practical Role Of Austrian Social-Democracy

As Marxists we judge political parties and representative individuals by their practical deeds not by the fine phrases with which they adorn them. What has indeed been the practical role of the Austrian Social-democratic leadership in this most heroic period of the life of its party? To avoid all suspicion of bias and misinterpretation, we will let Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch tell the story in their own words:

"We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made. We let Dollfuss know that, if he would only pass a bill thru parliament, we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern only by decree without Parliament for two years. . . ."

"The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee grew as the government provocations increased. The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us. . . ."

"Last Sunday night in Vienna, a comrade coming from Linz warned me (Bauer) that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and that, if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms, they would defend themselves for the sake of the republic. . . ."

"I was alarmed to hear of this spirit and, after discussion with my informant, we both decided that urgent messages must be sent to the workers to keep cool. . . . Apparently the message arrived too late. . . ."

"During the disorders in 1927 (a workers uprising.—W. H.), Mayor Seitz and many others, at the risk of their own lives, went into the crowds and calmed the excited working men. All these leaders were in prison on Monday. Why didn't Fey release them at any time during the fighting and give them a chance to bring it to an end? . . ."

"When the news reached Vienna that there had been shooting between the police and workers in Linz and a strike had broken out there, members with the Social-democratic party Committee tried to get in touch with the government to prevent an outbreak. . . ."

These are the words of the Social-democratic leaders themselves. Do they justify us in regarding their program as a policy of organizing the revolution or of obstructing it? When the workers revolt broke out only because these leaders could not prevent it ("the message arrived too late!"), what shall we say of their practical role? That, at the crucial moment, they were found on the firing line where the fighting was hardest, does credit to their personal courage and devotion but

the land barons of old pursued about the same line of smash—starve—kill, as does Emperor Ford today. The merchants and small manufacturers of the towns eventually rid themselves of his lordship, the feudal baron and his gang of retainers, sluggers and rapists. Today, the course of industrial evolution, mass unemployment and the effects of the crisis—all these factors are causing workers to think in terms of ending their degradation and misery. The workers, too, will find the way to depose Emperor Henry and all his retainers. Speed the day!

Problems Of Organization Of The Unorganized

THE WORKERS UNDER FORD'S SLAVE SYSTEM

by George A. Watkins

In order to realize fully what forces the progressive worker finds stacked up against him in Ford's domain around Detroit, it is necessary to know the background of the various groups which now exist and struggle there. On the wave of "jobs for all", some fifteen years ago, came the first great influx of native white southerners from Kentucky and Tennessee. These people, almost entirely of rural origin, were individualist par excellence. Their mode of life and their surroundings in the hills had made them so. They despised cooperative efforts of any kind simply because their methods of getting a living and their surroundings did not call for such.

The Basis Of Individualism

If a man failed to bring home enough game from the hills, hares, birds, possum etc.—it was because he himself was lacking in marksmanship. If sufficient fish were not brought from the lake or mountain creek, his fishing technique was at fault. If he failed to raise a crop of corn on his acreage it was either the weather, the seed or the inability of the cultivator. They had no need to come together for mutual help. Their method of making a living was an individual problem, never a community or social one.

We find settlements of these people today, in the realm of Henry Ford, their minds in a state of bewilderment. Their inclination is of course to still treat everything as a personal affair. A man gets a job—Good! He is a good man, or he got the breaks. A mass lay-off occurs—Bad! He got a bad break. So far no thought of a social or mass problem has dawned upon most of these people. Such concepts as a social system of mass or social production for profit, under class ownership of the means of production, well, such ideas have simply never been brought to them.

The "Cause" Of Unemployment

They are told something of the cause of their unemployment and misery. It's those foreigners who have come over from Europe and have taken the jobs which "belong" to Americans. It's because of the

Negro worker who is now in industry. The remedy is of course—drive out the foreigner and the Negro.

One section was, in particular, settled by the white southern element—the city of Lincoln Park. Here the Ku Klux Klan flourished. Here, Negroes were driven out of town by K.K.K. terrorists. Here, some few years ago, a sign in electric lights—"K.K.K."—was kept burning on the top of a building on the main highway, a notice to the dark brother and the foreign worker that he was to keep away. The Klan hoodlums in these days of job scarcity ingratiate themselves with the Ford authorities by posing as "red baiters." They actually bid against each other for the job of breaking up workers organizations and murdering unemployed militant rebels. Overdrawn? Not a particle.

Lead Pipes And Bullets

Less than a year ago an association of unemployed in Lincoln Park on a "self-help" basis, was forcibly disbanded by orders of the Ford controlled local politicians. Because among the 200 in the organization there were workers who understood the significance of the industrial development in recent years and were willing to explain

it to the workers. Economics was studied and explained, an understanding of surplus value was arrived at, industrial history was uncovered and the position of the unemployed workers today, as an outcast, was becoming clear to these men.

"Use lead pipes if you have to, but clear those radicals out of the group" was the order given in Lincoln Park city hall and overheard and broadcasted by a foreign born worker. Where is that worker now? In his grave. Found two days before Christmas with a bullet drilled thru his head. A "baffling" mystery say the local police. And when a committee of unemployed talked of starting an investigation of their own, they were told by these same police—"Lay off that stuff. If you don't you'll run into trouble."

Fostering Division Among Workers

Another outstanding feature of the situation here, is the evolution of the objective of the K.K.K. hoodlums. Only a dozen years ago the terror was directed against the Negro and the foreign born. Today this terror is being visited also upon the "purest blooded" of the proud Anglo-Saxon race, when these fight together with the hungry unemployed for food and shelter; when these plant the seeds of knowledge in the minds of the nerve shattered and panicky unemployed.

So the uninformed white southerner blames the Negro and foreigner. The local "home guard" of native born Detroiters blame not only the Negro and the foreigner but also the white southerner. The foreigner is a Bo-hunk, Wop or Giny and their fellow native born American from Tennessee is a Briar Hopper or a Hilly-Billy, an intruder whose presence causes misery. The Negro resenting discrimination and race hardships blames the white race as a race. So Ford divides and conquers.

Preparing For The New Day

Henry's smile and the sneer of son Edsel will fade in the face of the growing consciousness among sections of the workers. These workers are beginning to realize that

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WHY A LABOR PARTY IN AMERICA?

Some Political Perspectives

by S. Jonas & H. Vaughan

The year 1934, after four years of depression, the worst the capitalist world has yet known, finds the American working class still united politically with either the Democratic or Republican representatives of capitalism in the United States. Despite the failure of the New Deal to materially decrease unemployment or to make any headway in its efforts to "restore prosperity," the vast majority of the workers remain lined up in support of Roosevelt and his Administration, vainly hoping that the tide will soon turn.

Not only have we no independent political party in America through which those workers who are now ready to desert the two capitalist parties (but who are not ready to support a revolutionary party) can express their determination to obtain genuine governmental action for themselves as workers, but even among the revolutionary elements of the American working class there is no semblance of unity of opinion as to the method by which the workers can be divorced from their present alliance with the two capitalist parties.

Labor Party A Necessity

The necessity for the political separation of the working class from the capitalist class, is admitted by all revolutionary elements. But each thinks that it is the party around which the workers should and will rally. The official C. P. maintains that the masses can be won to a revolutionary position directly, that large numbers of workers will one day cease to support the Democratic and Republican Parties and join the Communist Party.

The Socialist Party, likewise, believes in a "mass labor party." But it still sees the possibility of five or ten million workers enrolling in the Socialist Party, forming a labor party "on a broad socialist basis." To facilitate that enrollment it called a Continental Congress last May. The organization set up by that Congress has languished since that time, due to the fact that a fight has developed within the S.P. as to what should be done with it. There are many in the Party who would rather exterminate the Continental Congress than allow it to help inaugurate a real labor party.

When one looks at the history of the American Labor Movement since the war, particularly since 1929, one cannot fail to realize the utter futility of trying to continue these policies. The American working class, as a whole, is no more politically conscious today

only brings out in bolder relief the "conservative" (I use their own word) character of their policies!

Collapse Of Austro-Marxism

Austro-Marxism has collapsed not because the Austrian Social-democrats were defeated on the streets of Vienna. Such defeats are no shame and no disaster; in fact they may often, as was the case in Russia in 1905, be but a temporary retreat for the sake of a more powerful advance. The collapse of Austro-Marxism is a political, a moral, a theoretical breakdown: its traditional ideological foundations have crumbled! Its underlying attempt to "combine what could never be combined, reformist Socialism and revolutionary Marxism, bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, had some attraction in the flush days of parliamentary democracy in the first years following the war. But with the decay of the mass faith in democracy characteristic of most European countries in the last few years, Austro-Marxism has lost both its base and its function. And with their own life blood the Austrian Social-democrats have signed its declaration of bankruptcy!

So be it! With the systematic assimilation of the great political lessons of the five-day revolution on the streets of Austria, will emerge from the ranks of the heroic Austrian Social-democrats a really revolutionary Socialist movement, a Communist movement which will be in a position to lead the Austrian workers to their emancipation from the yoke of Fascism and capitalism!

than it was before the depression, although there is a great deal of discontent and resentment against the economic conditions. It is obvious that no progress can be made in building a revolutionary movement until workers have first become politically conscious as a class. It is equally obvious that the tactics of the revolutionary parties have failed to accomplish this. What basis exists, therefore, for assuming that workers can be induced to support an American labor party, based upon the trade unions, when they cannot be induced, at the present time, at least, to support a revolutionary party? What basis exists for the assumption that a determined effort to launch such a party would succeed today, where similar efforts have failed in the past?

For Roosevelt—Against NRA

A paradoxical situation exists among the workers today. While the majority of them are supporters of Roosevelt politically, many of these same workers are organizing themselves and are militantly fighting his administration on the economic field. The miners of Pennsylvania, the shoe workers in New England, the textile workers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, despite the urgent requests of the National Labor Board and the N.R.A. authorities to refrain from striking, have conducted strong fights, not only against their own bosses, but also against the Administration which they helped to elect.

by S. Jonas & H. Vaughan have records; larger also than in any year since depression."

That workers are not blind to the failure of the N.R.A. is proved by the statement of some of their own conservative leaders. "Reports coming into this office," says E. C. Davidson, Secretary of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists, in the Federated Press, "show a desperate condition in the industrial centers. Men are being laid off, those who are working are working longer hours, and wage cutting seems to be general. The mechanic, the skilled worker, is worse off now than before employers got hold of the N.R.A."

The January issue of the American Federationist has the following to say about present conditions: "Since the bank crisis, the average worker's weekly income has risen 7.4 per cent (to October), but prices the worker has to pay for his living expenses have risen much more than this. Food prices are up to 18 per cent (to November 21), prices of clothing and furnishing are up 26.3 (to November). Thus the worker who had a job right along is worse off than he was when the year began." And one might add here that since that was written the difference between wages and prices has probably become even greater.

In regard to unemployment the Federationist says this. "The layoffs in manufacturing in November were over 330,000. These factory layoffs are much larger than in any normal year for which we

Where Will Workers Go?

Many more figures could be cited to prove that the workers are getting a rotten deal rather than a new deal from the present set-up. There can be no doubt that conditions will become worse instead of better, that workers will be forced to revolt against Roosevelt as they did against Hoover. The question is where will they go next? It is realistic to suppose, on the basis of what we have seen since the depression began, that they will join either the Socialist or Communist Parties? It is far more probable, that left to themselves, they will swing back to the other major capitalist party or they may be corralled into some middle-class, purely reformist third party. With 2,000,000 new members in the trade unions, many of them workers who would look with favor on a labor party with a militant program, should the revolutionary parties continue to remain aloof from the masses, as their sectarian policies force them to do (note Earl Browder's latest thesis for the coming Communist Party convention), or should they take the steps necessary to bring about the formation of such a labor party?

Experiences Of British Labor

It is our opinion that these 2,000,000 new trade unionists might well play the same role that "New Unionism" in England played in

organizing the British Labor Party. Furthermore, the role of the government through the N.R.A. may create a situation similar to the one in England, where the Taft Vale Judgment forced the workers into independent political action. (The Taft Vale Judgment held that a trade union could be sued in its collective capacity for the tortious acts of any of its members or officials. If this law had been allowed to remain in effect, the trade union movement in England would have been doomed.) Likewise, if the National Labor Board succeeds in its efforts to outlaw strikes, it will make the trade unions sub-divisions of the government. With increasing inflation, workers' wages will be slashed more and more. Unemployment will continue to increase and a much lower standard of living will be forced upon those who are employed. These continuously worsening conditions will compel workers to fight, not only on the economic field, but on the political field as well.

Labor Party—Conservative Or Revolutionary

We have already referred to the British Labor Party. The question may be asked, will a labor party in the United States go in the same direction as the British Labor Party has gone? To this question we would answer no. In America today we have an entirely different economic situation than existed in England at the time the B.L.P. was formed. At that time capitalism was on the upgrade; today capitalism is now definitely declining in this country. In England most of the trade union leaders were for a labor party; here, most of the leaders of the trade unions are, and will be, against the formation of a labor party. A labor party in this country would have to be organized against and in spite of the wishes of many of the trade union officials. Hence such a party would be more definitely a class party in this country.

Would such a party be revolutionary? No such a party should serve to rally and unite all workers organizations, regardless of individual differences, around the issue of "independent working class political action." In its fight for immediate demands such a party will become more and more opposed to the entire capitalist system, will become more and more revolutionary in its outlook. The job of the revolutionists will be to obtain the confidence of these workers and eventually their leadership, not by mechanical maneuvers, manipulations and trickery, but by sincerity, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The task facing revolutionists today, therefore, is not only to build a progressive bloc in the trade unions for the purpose of fighting against company unionism; of fighting for the right to strike; for unemployment insurance; for amalgamation of the existing trade unions and the organization of the unorganized in industrial unions, but also to agitate and prepare the ground for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions and other working class organizations.

A Statement From A Communist Party Member

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

by Sam Isralsky

For a convinced and active Communist to take the step of leaving the Communist Party is a very serious matter. I am taking this step. I feel it my duty to the party membership and to the revolutionary movement to state plainly what are the causes that have driven me to such a conclusion.

After many months of experience, I have become firmly convinced that the policy of the party on the trade union field is false and harmful to the interests of Communism and of the labor movement. My experience has also shown me that in order to force these policies upon the fractions and the Left Group Oppositions in the unions, the party leaders must resort to the most bureaucratic methods, disregarding entirely the will and desire of the membership. To fight within the party and the fraction is useless; I believe I can do a better service to Communism and to the labor movement by leaving the Communist Party and the Left Group Opposition and fight for my viewpoint outside.

Here are some of the events that have led me to take this step.

About a year ago, I told Comrade Boruchovich and the other comrades belonging to the Cloakmakers Fraction that I thought they should go into the I.L.G.W.U. and there help fight against the leadership for left wing policies. At that time he told me he did not have the decision of the District Committee and would take it up with that committee. About six months ago the Bureau of the Cloakmakers Fraction took up the matter. The leading fraction made a decision that every member of the Industrial Union should go into the International to work as an opposition group. Comrade Boruchovich paid no attention at all to this decision of the leading fraction and made no attempt to have the comrades get into the International. After his attention had been called several times to the fact that there was such a decision and that he had done nothing about it, he said that the International would not allow them into meetings and that the best way was to develop opposition from the bottom, from the rank and file, and that it was not necessary to have leadership. I got the

same answer from Comrades Hyman, Weiss, Levine and others; they also said that they did not have the money to get in.

Never at any time did Comrade Boruchovich work in conjunction with the C. P. fraction. The effect of this was that a number of party comrades dropped out of the party, sending their membership books back to the District Committee with the statement that they did not want to be mere rubber stamps—such comrades as Leventhal, Koropotkin, Toretzky, Friedman and others.

The full effects of the party policy came out after the Left Group's candidates had been taken off the ballot in the Local elections.

Boruchovich advised all Left Group members to vote for dates (Warner and others of the Mutual Aid Club. The Left Group which had numbered about 250, now numbers only about 75.

Comrade Boruchovich's latest scheme is to organize another opposition group called the "Democracy Group" (Independent League for Democracy). He sent in Comrade Hurowitz to organize this Group under the leadership of Shelley, who had always taken a center position, changing it from date to date. This step was taken without even consulting the fraction of the bureau and, altho I am a member of the leading fraction,

I did not know about this new move until he announced at one fraction meeting that such a group was in existence and that the Left Group would have to cooperate with it—still not stating that he had anything to do with this new group!

What conclusions must anyone draw from these experiences?

1. In spite of all talk about working in the A. F. of L., the official policy of the Communist Party is sectarian. Even tho the Industrial Union does not exist in the cloak field, they still keep up a skeleton organization, not only hindering the unity of the cloakmakers but also keeping in isolation many comrades who might be useful in building up a left wing movement in the International. The repeated decisions for all cloakmakers to leave the Industrial Union and join the International were sabotaged and thrown out by Comrade Boruchovich and others because, they said, it would liquidate the Industrial Union.

2. The policy of the Communist Party makes it impossible for those who follow it to be a constructive left wing force in the unions. Instead of trying to build up the unions and making them into militant organizations, their policy must have the result of weakening and demoralizing the unions and prejudicing many honest workers against Communism. This is not real Communist policy but just the opposite.

3. There is no democracy in the party but the party is run by officials whose will is law. What the members may want means very little but what Comrade Boruchovich says means a great deal. Under such conditions it is impossible to change the policy of the party just from the inside.

Having experienced all this for a long period of time and not wanting to be merely a rubber stamp to carry out wrong policies, I am resigning from the party in protest and also from the Left Group Opposition of Local 1, of which I am an Executive Board member, and also from all the party-controlled organizations. (Signed) Sam Isralsky, Member of Section 11, Nucleus 9, District 2, C.P.U.S.A. Membership Book No. 9485

ON DIALECTICS

Two chapters from a larger work by the leading communist theoretician

August Thalheimer

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The ILP and the Comintern

(Continued from previous issue)

Fusion Of Interests Inside And Outside Of U.S.S.R.

The basic interests of the Soviet proletariat and of the working class in capitalist countries are fused and indivisible. If the proletariat in the capitalist countries did not support the Soviet Union, intervention would come rapidly enough and the Soviet Union would be in danger of being overthrown. If a failure or disaster were to befall the Soviet Union, it would spell the blackest defeat and darkest reaction for the workers and oppressed colonial masses throughout the world for many years. Should the international proletarian sympathy and support for the U.S.S.R. grow, then, the growth of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union the Socialist victory, would be speeded up tremendously. If the Soviet Union moves forward rapidly in its drive for Socialist construction, the socialist victories achieved go a long way towards strengthening the proletarian positions of battle against international capitalism.

No one will deny that Stalin's factional methods, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern especially, that the factional regime, its clique-boasting and bureaucratic perversion of correct tactical policies with the consequent weakening of the Communist International, have given to bourgeois critics and to the Trotskyites plenty of talking points for such inventions and crudities such as the idea that the Soviet Union is no longer interested in the world revolution and is concerned only with the problems of Soviet economic construction. Whatever be the criticism we may level against Stalin, yet we never can stoop to deny that it was none other than Stalin himself who clearly said in reply to Trotsky at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI in December, 1926 that:

"The interests and tasks of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are interwoven and integrally connected with the interests and the tasks of the revolutionary movement in all countries and vice versa, the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries are inseparably connected with the tasks and achievements of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. on the front of socialist construction."

For the C.P.S.U. Lenin's remarks to the Thirteenth Party Congress hold good. Lenin then said:

"We live not only in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. Finally, one or the other must conquer."

C. I. Ultra-Left Tactics Bring Paralysis

The fact that Stalin's ultra-left sectarian tactics in the Communist International have brought paralysis to the Comintern, particularly in the present moment of splendid opportunities for the development of the revolutionary movement against capitalism, does not mean that his intentions are bad or that his plans are to sacrifice the world revolution. It does mean that his present policies in the Comintern are wrong, are bad.

If your evaluation of the motives animating the C.P.S.U.'s attitude toward the world revolution were correct, then, the Comintern should be considered a counter-revolutionary organization, a betrayer of the principles of Marx and Lenin. If this were true, then, the ILP should under no circumstances seek to affiliate sympathetically or fully with the Communist International. That is why we, of the International Communist Opposition, have placed so much stress on the following: the communists of all countries must guard against ultra-left sectarian adventurism with special vigilance in these days of dying capitalism as a world system. Leftist sectarianism is the most deadly enemy of the international communist movement in its present decisive combat with social reformism and fascism—the two guardians at the death-bed of the dying, but still far from dead, order of capitalist exploitation.

At this point we will remind Comrade Stalin of his own very effective answer to the Trotskyites when they first proposed tactics for the Comintern very much akin to, if not identical with, the present tactics of the C. I. The comrades of the ILP will be interested in knowing that at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Stalin said:

"... and that therefore it is possible to leap over these facts and by clamorous slogans demonstrate the revision of the tactics of the united front, disruption of the trade union movement in the West, etc. But what does it mean to ignore facts, to ignore the objective progress of affairs? It means to abandon science and to resort to witchcraft. This gives rise to adventurism in the policy of the Opposition (Trotskyite) Bloc."

Our Indictment Of Comintern's Tactical Course

It is precisely along these lines that we indict the present tactics of the C. I. We have not forgotten that when Lenin worked in the Communist International he repeatedly warned those of us who were working there with him that "we should on no account lose sight of the originality in development, that we should not look at things in a stereotyped manner, that we should be able to distinguish and to perceive simultaneously both what is most general and also the minor peculiarities which sometimes play a decisive role in the subsequent transition on the road to communism."

For us of the International Communist Opposition the following advice of Lenin to the Third World Congress of the Comintern, held at a time similar to our present days, is still very much in force:

"The fundamental tasks of the Communist Party in the current crisis is to conduct, extend, widen and unite the present defensive fight of the proletariat and sharpen it towards the final political struggle in accordance with the course of evolution. Should, however, the pace of development slacken and the present economic crisis be followed by a period of prosperity in a greater or less number of countries, this would by no means be an indication of the beginning of the organic epoch. So long as capitalism exists, periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its death agony as was the case during its youth and maturity."

Soviet Foreign Policy And World Revolution

We further deny that there is any conflict between the interests of Soviet foreign policy and the interests of the world revolution. We maintain that the present foreign policy of the Soviet Union is correct, is in the interests of world peace which the proletariat so sorely needs, and is a continuation of the basic fundamentals of Soviet foreign policy as laid down by Lenin in the instructions to the delegation of the Soviet Union to the Genoa Conference in 1922. Carrying out this line of Lenin, Chicherin then declared in behalf of the Soviet Union:

"The Russian delegation recognizes that, in the present historical period, which permits a parallel existence of the old social order and the new one being born, economic collaboration between the powers representing the two systems of property is urgently necessary for general economic reconstruction. . . . The Russian delegation has come here not to make propaganda for its theoretical views but to set up practical relations with the governments."

Let us also draw your attention to an interview between the British journalist, W. T. Goode, with Lenin in 1919 in reference to Soviet foreign policy. When Mr. Goode asked Lenin what guarantees could be offered against official propaganda among the Western peoples, if by any chance relations with the Soviet Republics were opened, Lenin replied that the Bolsheviks had declared to Bullitt (now American ambassador to the U.S.S.R.) that they were ready to sign an agreement not to make official propaganda. It was Lenin himself who emphasized to Bullitt that as a government the Soviets were ready to "undertake that no official propaganda should take place. If private persons undertook propaganda they could do it at their own risk and be amenable to the laws

of the country in which they acted."

We cannot emphasize to you too strongly that you are laying yourself wide open to justifiable attacks by the Comintern bureaucratic leadership when you make so unjustifiable a criticism of the Soviet Union as when you speak of its promising "to repudiate the essential activities of its own sections" in other countries. Apparently you have in mind articles 3 and 4 of the Litvinoff-Roosevelt agreement leading to American recognition of the U.S.S.R. There is no cause for excitement over these paragraphs. Litvinoff was right when he declared that these articles are "the fixed policy of the government of the U.S.S.R." When Lenin was at the head of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I., the Soviet government signed a treaty of peace with Estonia at Tartu on February 2, 1920 in which is found the following paragraph, article 7, section 5:

"... to forbid the formation, and the presence in their territory, of any organizations or groups whatsoever claiming to govern all or part of the territory of the other contracting party, and the presence of representatives or officials of organizations or groups whose object is to overthrow the government of the other party to the Treaty."

And Article 4, section 2, of the peace treaty between Latvia and the Soviet Union signed on August 11, 1920 is identical with the one quoted above. In Article 5 of the final peace of Riga, March 18, 1921, between Poland and the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine not only did the governments pledge themselves to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs but the following is also agreed to:

"Each of the contracting Parties undertakes not to create or protect organizations which are formed with the object of encouraging armed conflict against the other Contracting Party or of undermining its territorial integrity, or of subverting by force its political or social institutions, nor yet such organizations as claim to be the Government of the other Party or of a part of the territories of the other Party. The Contracting Parties, therefore, undertake to prevent such organizations, their official representatives and other persons connected therewith, from establishing themselves on their territory, and to prohibit military recruiting, etc. . . ."

Greetings to I. L. P. National Conference

Comrades, we have perhaps imposed entirely too much on you in our lengthy statement. However, we feel so keenly the importance of the problems which you have raised and which we are facing in common, that we found it necessary to present our viewpoint in a rather detailed manner. We hope that the ILP, at its forthcoming National Conference, will take steps towards adopting a position which will insure its becoming a powerful factor not only in the achievement of the unification of the Communist forces of Great Britain, but of the world Communist movement as well. The Communist party of the United States (Opposition) is prepared to cooperate with you in a truly comradely fashion towards the achievement of this end which we consider as the most vital need of the world proletariat.

We extend to you fraternal greetings and express our sincerest hopes that your forthcoming National Conference will be successful and will prove of real service in the struggle for the reconstruction and reunification of the World Communist Movement, for the restoration of the Communist International to the tactical path of Leninism and organizational principles laid down in the basic Theses and Statutes of the C.I.

For the achievement of these objectives, we of the I.C.O., invite your comradely cooperation.

Forward to World Communist Unity!

Forward to the victory of the International Proletariat!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION)

Jay Lovestone, Sec'y.

THE DRESSMAKERS PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1)

lines, the industry was completely paralyzed and the manufacturers were compelled to grant the demands of the Union. We succeeded in building up a powerful union and in winning the 35-hour week, guaranteed minimum wage scales, jobbers responsibility, etc. Not only that but we forced the NRA to incorporate these gains of ours into the Dress Code adopted later on.

Keeping The Gains Of The Strike

5. The progressive administration was not content to rest on its laurels gained in the general strike. It immediately started a campaign for the strict enforcement of the agreement. It realized that to win the strike was only one stage of the battle; the next, and equally important stage was to keep the gains. We knew that the jobbers and manufacturers would not willingly grant the conditions obtained from them in the strike, that they would use all kinds of schemes to evade the provisions of the agreement in the shops. We therefore insisted on the utmost vigilance on the part of the Joint Board. We therefore warned against the intention of the Dress Code authority arbitrarily to modify our agreement and, when the Code Authority actually carried out its intention, we

mobilized the membership of our Local against the compliance with the NRA. As soon as the jobbers took advantage of the slack period to cut wages, the progressive administration of our Local proposed to the Joint Board to take drastic action against them by stopping off groups of workers employed by the same jobber. As a consequence came the jobbers stoppage in January in which about 20,000 dressmakers were involved in the fight against wage reductions. This stoppage affected the entire industry, checking the drive to destroy minimum wage scales and increasing wages in all crafts. It taught the jobbers that the Union would not tolerate any schemes to undermine or nullify the agreement. It was also a lesson to many of our conservative leaders that the program advocated by the progressive administration of Local 22 was the only effective program.

We also realized the importance of maintaining the 35-hour week. We therefore urged the establishment of a special Joint Board department (the Union Defenders Committee) to patrol the districts to see that no shops worked overtime or on holidays.

For the more thoro enforcement of conditions, and in order to bring about standardization and the abolition of competition between groups of workers employed

by the same jobber, we proposed that all contracting shops working for one jobber be under the control of one business agent, thus making possible the close and effective cooperation of all chairmen and price committees. This plan was accepted and will be put into effect very shortly.

Drawing In The New Union Members

6. The general strike swept into our Union tens of thousands of new members dressmakers who had never belonged to any union before and who had very little acquaintance with the labor movement. From the beginning, the progressive administration regarded it as one of its main tasks to draw these new elements into the active life of the Union, to educate them in the spirit of unionism, to develop their class consciousness and their understanding of the problems of labor. Already groups of active Union members have been formed among these new elements (Spanish, Negro, American, etc.) and large numbers are participating actively in Union work.

Our Educational Work

7. In line with its aim of developing the consciousness and understanding of the membership, the progressive administration initiated an extensive program of educational activities. Classes on many subjects have been opened in the residential districts as well as in the Union headquarters, lec-

tures and discussions held, recreational and cultural groups started and so on. In order to reach the many thousands of our Union members with our message, in order to cement more firmly their relations with our family administration, we recently began to issue our own paper, "The Union Dressmaker", published in three languages.

These are some of the accomplishments standing to the credit of the progressive administration of Local 22. The Dressmakers Progressive Group is proud of this record of achievement and feels justified in appealing to you for your support in the forthcoming elections.

Our Program For The Future
The Dressmakers Progressive Group will carry on in the future the fight along the same lines as in the past.

1. We will carry on the fight for the strict enforcement of the agreement and Union standards in the shops.

For The 30-Hour Week And Higher Minimums

2. We will begin a fight for the 30-hour week and higher guaranteed minimum wage scales. The 35-hour week has not absorbed the thousands of unemployed in our trade. Inflation and the rising cost of living are actually reducing our standards even tho the scales remain the same. We therefore propose that the Union meet this situation by demanding the

30-hour week and higher minimum scales.

For Unemployment Insurance

3. We stand for unemployment insurance paid by the employers and administered by the Union. Our industry being seasonal so that the workers are at best employed only part of the year, the employers must shoulder the burden of maintaining the workers in the industry in slack periods.

For Week Work

4. We propose to begin an agitation for week work. In our industry, with its constantly changing styles and many lines of work, the only completely effective way of safeguarding the wages of the workers is week work.

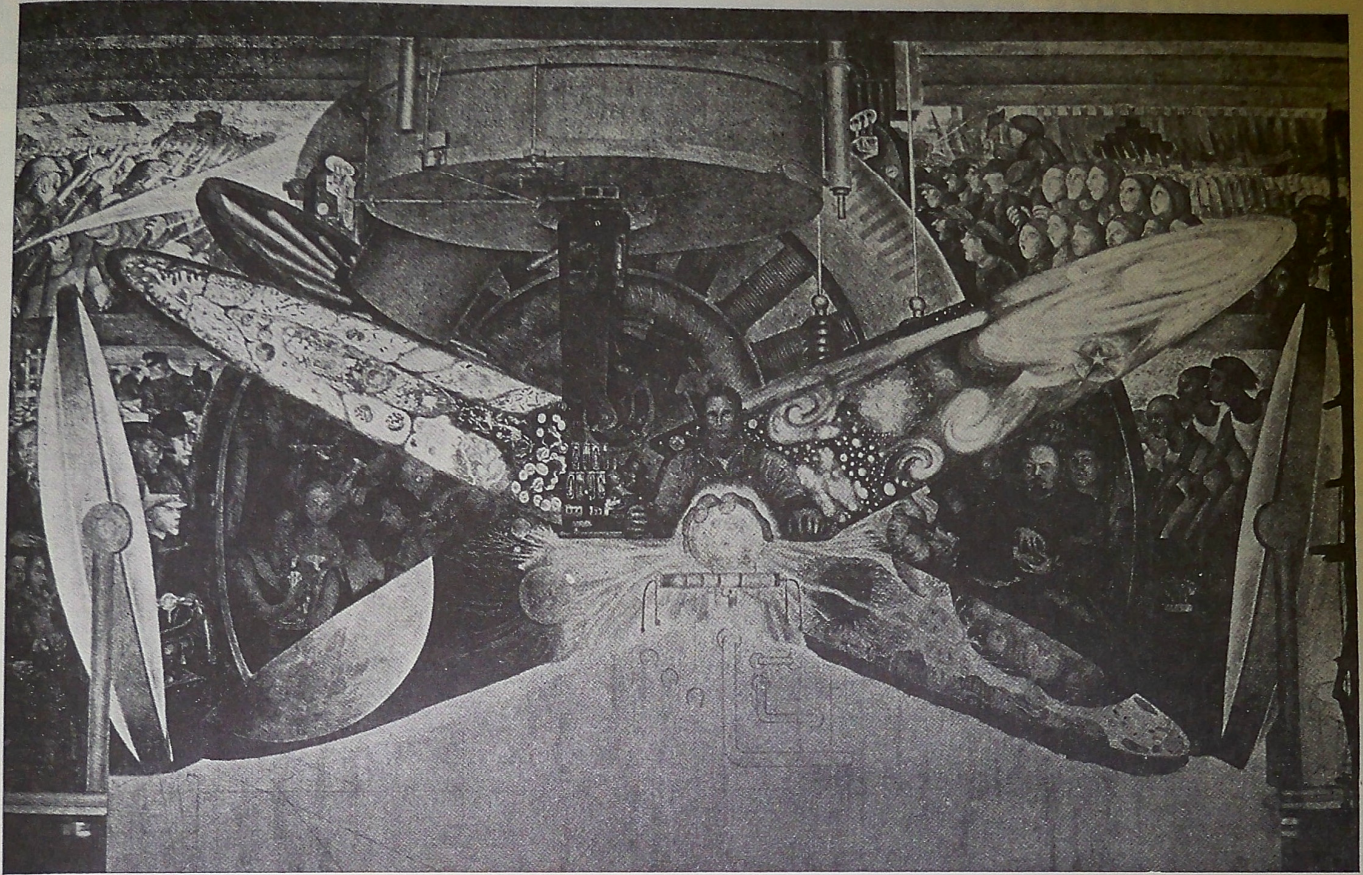
5. It has become clear that, under conditions today, our present Union structure is no longer effective or workable. We propose the abolition of craft locals and the reconstruction of the entire Union along more industrial lines.

For Progressivism In The American Labor Movement

6. We stand for progressive policies in the American labor movement as a whole. We propose to carry on a fight against the old reactionary leadership and policies in the A. F. of L., which are retarding the progress of American labor.

Support The Progressive Candidates!
Dressmakers! After so many
(Continued on Page 8)

THE RIVERA MURAL AT RADIO CITY DESTROYED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

AGAIN DUALISM
COLLAPSES

The Anthracite strike, led by the new Anthracite Union, ended on February 10, with no gains whatever for the miners. The Anthracite Conciliation Board, known among the miners as "the graveyard of miners' grievances" had been first designated by the National Labor Board to be the agency but on protest from the new union this decision was revised. The Conciliation Board consisted of three coal operators and three District Presidents of the U.M.W.A. with Gorman as the umpire. According to the new provision all grievances will be decided upon by Umpire Gorman himself. This is the very same Gorman who in the numerous grievances, which he passed upon previously, practically always decided for the operators and against the miners.

President Maloney, of the new union now hails Gorman as a square shooter who will give the miners a break. Some 750 grievances collected by the new union has already been sent to Gorman.

In 1932 when Maloney, I and many others, were expelled for 15 years for strike activity within the U.M.W.A., we were at the same time discharged from work. When a motion was presented at our Local Union 466, that we take our case to the Conciliation Board, Maloney, I and others got up and stated that we will not place our case before the Board because we don't believe in it, because we know that Gorman will uphold the operators.

Less than two years have gone and Maloney has changed plenty. He has completely changed his mind about Gorman and sends him 750 grievances, at the same time telling the miners that they will get an honest decision.

Miners, I leave it to you now to judge for yourself the kind of leadership Maloney is giving us. Is there any difference between him and the corrupt officials of the U.M.W.A. The best thing you can do is to join into one union—the U.M.W.A.—and clean it out from the inside.

—F. V.

PROTESTS

The undersigned Mexican artists and I, Diego Rivera, feel indebted to the American working class and to the artists who protested against the destruction of the frescoes painted on the walls of the building of Radio City, for they understand the enormity of the assassination of human creation. We want to express to them our deepest gratitude for this act of sympathy.

At the same time we energetically protest the stupid interpretation given to Diego Rivera's words, concerning the importance of finishing the mural at Radio City and rather seeing it destroyed than permitting it to be mutilated. The cowardly interpretation of Rockefeller was that Diego Rivera authorized thereby the destruction of the painting.

We want to protest also the attitude of the painters who professed satisfaction with the malicious interpretation of Rockefeller and took their own pictures again to the exhibition after having withdrawn them.

We protest above all because the Rockefeller, not satisfied with the destruction of the frescoes, hid their real purpose in a cowardly manner, behind a deliberate misinterpretation of the artist's words.

We now demand in the name of civilization and as a matter of elemental justice, the establishment of a legal guarantee to protect aesthetic creation, really belonging to humanity altho now in the hands of the capitalist who pays for it.

We also want to say that we understand that a work of art is always useful to productive men and helpful to the progress of human collectivity. This is the meaning and the cause of our present struggle.

Useless or false art is that art which develops the opposite effect in human minds, that is to say, the effect of paralyzing action, art which possesses no collective utility, for the benefit of individual interests of powerful millionaires. Morphine and cocaine are prepared by men to act as a medicine, but they have also become poisons of humanity owing to the criminal ac-

tions on the part of capitalism.

Mexico, D. F., Feb. 20, 1934
(Signed)

Juan O'Gorman, architect; Salomon Kahan, writer; Ignacio Millan, physician; C. Campos Alatorre, writer; Carlos Chavez, musician; Ricardo Ortega, architect; Jorge Encison, archaeologist; Rodolfo Usigli, writer; German Cueto, sculptor; R. Lago; Frances Toor, writer; Angel Salas, theatrical actor; Rufino Tamayo, painter; Emanuel Palacios, physician; J. M. Anaya, painter; J. Guerrero Galvan, painter; Maximo Pacheco, painter; Antonio M. Ruiz, painter; Ramon Alva, painter; Jose Pomer, musician; Roberto Montenegro, painter; Agustin Yanez, painter; H. Perez Martinez; Julio Prieto, architect; Julio Castellanos, painter; R. Reyes Perez, painter; Alfredo Salce, painter; Jesus Alfaro Siqueiros, theatrical actor; Antonio Mediz Bello, lawyer; Carlos Oregon Santaella, architect; F. Revueltas, painter; J. de Jesus Marin, physician and surgeon; Jose Lopez Motezuma, architect; Carlos Cordoba, civil engineer; Carlos Tarditti, architect; Alfonso Garcia Benitez, engineer; Rafael Ballester, painter; N. Grajales, engineer; Angel Braacho, painter, Antonio Pujol, painter; Vicente Echeverria del Prado; Gonsalo Selva; Carlos Merida, painter; Francisco Diaz de Leon, painter; Carlos Orozco Romero, painter; Manuel Martinez Valadez; Hernando Jimenez, painter; Gabriel Fernandez Ledesma, painter; Francisco Marin, physician and surgeon; Ramon Alva de la Canal, painter; Pablo O'Higgins, painter; Luis Ortiz Monasterio, sculptor; Alfonso Gutierrez Hermsillo, writer, Maria Izquierdo, painter; Isabel Villasenor y R., painter; Maria Becerra Gonzales; Jorge Vicario Ramon; Palma Guillen, teacher; Manuel Alvarez Bravo, photographer; Dolores Alvarez Bravo, photographer; Jose Luis Cuevas, architect; Enrique Ibanez, architect; Luis Cuevas, architect; Justino Fernandez; Frieda K. de Rivera, painter; Nina O'Gorman, painter; Susana Pradat, modiste; P. Bernot, architect; Leonardo Noriega, architect; Juan Legarreta,

AGAINST VANDALISM

N. Y. MACHINISTS
ORGANIZINGEinstein on
Rivera

Princeton, Feb. 13, 1934.

Jay Lovestone
New Workers School,
51 West 14 Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear sir:

I thank you heartily for the photographs of the Rivera paintings. I believe that your school has thru the decoration of its halls with these paintings earned a lasting merit for the development of art in the United States. There is in these paintings such force and originality as present-day art can hardly be said to possess.

Again thanking you heartily

I am

A. EINSTEIN.

P. S.—I am writing the artist with the same mail.

* * *

The Letter To Rivera

"Dear Mr. Rivera:

The New Workers School of New York has sent me photographs of the paintings with which you have decorated that institution. I am happy to take this opportunity to express my deep admiration.

"It would be difficult to name an artist of the present time whose work has moved me so profoundly. I wish the world would recognize more what you have given it."

architect; Alvaro Aburto, architect; Salvador Roncal, architect; Carlos Gonzalez, painter; Emma Gonzalez; Ricardo Rivas, architect; Grace Greenwood, painter; Aqueles Vela, writer; Marion Greenwood, painter; Jesus Bracho, painter; Carlos Bracho, sculptor; Carlos Leduc, architect; Francisco M. Negrete, architect; Anuar Nasib Kuri,

The unions in the machine and metal industry have recently undertaken an intensified organization drive to strengthen their position and to facilitate their fight for better working conditions and for complete unionization of the metal industry. The conditions in the machine and metal plants seldom were as bad as they are at the present time. Wages in most of the factories and shops are about the same as they were at the lowest point of the crisis—anywhere from 45 cents to 75 cents an hour for skilled machinists and tool makers. Only in those shops where the union carried on active organization work, were the wages increased to make up the difference for the shorter hours.

On March 7th, the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. held a large open meeting at the Manual Training High School in Brooklyn. There was a large turnout of workers from the shipbuilding and ship-repair yards and shops in the Port of New York. John P. Frey, Secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. was the principal speaker.

A mass meeting has also been called by Unity Lodge No. 416 of the International Association of Machinists for March 16th at Pilgrim Hall, 290 Court Street, Brooklyn. A leaflet announcing this meeting addressed to all machinists, tool and die makers, machine operators, and all those employed in the manufacture of tools and machine parts is being widely distributed.

Unity Lodge No. 416 at their meeting on February 9th also carried a motion to communicate with the Grand Lodge and the District Office of the International Association of Machinists, informing them of their plans for organization and recommending a concentrated national organization drive throughout the United States in the coming spring.

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March 15, 1934.

THE ARMAMENT MARATHON

At no time since the "war to end war" swept the world, have the powers been so feverish in their piling up of armaments. Not a day passes without some government announcing a record military or naval budget. To some this may come as a surprise, in view of the surface indications of lessened tension in the Soviet-Japanese relations.

Why the mad rush to arm? In the realm of imperialist politics "friends" fear "friends" about as much as foes fear foes. Fear piles up armaments and armaments pile up fear in turn. This is a very high form of capitalist competition which grows out of the entire bourgeois socio-economic system and which stimulates the sprouting of the highest expression of capitalist competition—war.

But what is of prime importance today in the armaments race is its nature. It has every feature of a race about to close in an all-around collision and possible collapse. French imperialism too poor to pay interest on her war debts and so "impoverished" as to force drastic salary cuts on its civil service employees raises to dizzy heights its naval and military budgets. Great Britain so "poor" as to impose a notorious means test on its millions of unemployed is now to pour millions of Pounds into aerial expansion. Uncle Sam, "forced," because of lack of dollars, to demobilize systematically the C.W.A., startles the world with a \$750,000,000 naval budget. Of course, poorest Japan, where the farmers starve because they have produced too much rice, then, immediately professes its friendship for the Wall Street imperialist pack by joining the race to keep the United States company.

And even when the imperialists sign non-aggression pacts to last for 10 years, it doesn't mean that the ceremony and pledge are worth their investment in the paper and ink consumed. Not even when such treaties are only initialed. The recent seizure of a crew of notorious Polish military spies in Berlin was Hitler's most dramatic gesture of friendship to Pilsudski. Particularly significant is Belgium's re-evaluation of the Versailles Treaty, the scare it has produced in French army circles, and the joy it has brought into German militarist staffs which have, in the last year, been setting the pace in boosting armaments.

What is it all about? There seems to be a general scare and conviction that we are about due for another explosion. Where and exactly when it will start are not as decisive as this conviction and preparation for the eventuality. It is a realization of this most menacing fact that must guide the attitude of the class conscious workers to imperialist war.

Eternal class vigilance and united militant action against imperialist war are the best guarantee of peace.

And Now - "Communist Fascism"!

One of the very unfortunate consequences the utterly insane political course of the official Communist Party is the grist it brings to the mill of the most unwelcome and pernicious influence in the labor movement. This has proved to be a thousand times true in the case of the criminal hooliganism practised by the official C. P. at the Madison Square Garden meeting of February 16.

The hand of the ultra-conservatives in the Socialist Party, of the Cahans, and Gerbers, has been strengthened and the voice of the more militant and left wing forces temporarily weakened. In the Socialist organizations, too, there has been deliberately initiated a savage incitement against Communism as such, not against the utterly false tactics of the official C. P. but against the very principles of Communism, which are the principles of Marxism. In their indecency the columns of The New Leader, especially the inimitable paragraphs of James O'Neal, are matched only by the columns of The Daily Worker. The most reactionary conceptions and doctrines are raising their head with hardly any fear of challenge.

Among the most dangerous of these is the exact Socialist counterpart of the official Communist theory of "Communist-Fascism." Just as the official Communist press has been repeating, much to the justified indignation of the Socialists, that they are really the

"left wing of Fascism," the "main social prop of the bourgeoisie," that "to fight Fascism, we must fight Social-democracy," so the official Socialist spokesmen now rave about the Communists as "Fascists," about "Communism (as) an aid to Fascists," and so on. Indeed, the parallel is perfect. Declares Julius Gerber in the February 24, 1934 issue of The New Leader:

"Let those who are opposed to Fascism, Nazism, and dictatorship, add Bolshevism. . . If you do not want Fascism in the U. S. A., you must fight Bolshevism."

If the doctrine of "social-Fascism" is false and odious when it comes from the official Communists, it is a thousand times more false and more odious when it comes from the camp of reformist Socialism in the form of "Communist-Fascism." It is the duty of every honest Socialist, of every worker interested in the unity and fighting power of his class, to call a halt to such contemptible political abuse in place of argument and polemic, no matter how sharp. We therefore greet the decision of the New York Yipsels instructing the young Socialists that "under no conditions is abusive language to be used in our relations with the Communists, nor are the Yipsels to apply the sobriquet of Fascism to them." This is the right road!

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

LABOR'S NEW PLAN

It will be recalled that at the last A. F. of L. convention there was a heated discussion of the role of federal unions. A meeting of the Executive Council and officers of International and National Unions took place in Washington in January. A final decision on federal unions was reached, by adopting what is called "Labor's New Organizing Plan".

In the report of the committee proposing this plan (Woll, Olander, Wharton, Tobin, Howard, Myrup, Lakey, Dubinsky and Colleran) there is little either new or of value outside of the proposal on the federal union. We might mention that the committee appears to regret that NRA did not make mandatory certain forms of organization for wage earners, thus again showing a degree of trust and confidence in NRA which is positively amazing when we consider how the NRA has worked out for labor.

FEDERAL UNIONS TO STAY

The decision of the committee reads, in part: "that the fullest possible latitude be exercised by the Executive Council in the granting of federal charters and that where or whenever a temporary infraction of the rights of National and International Unions may be involved, that the Executive Council adjust such difficulties in the spirit of taking full advantage of the immediate situation and with the ultimate recognition of the rights of all concerned." (American Federationist February, 1934)

BASIS FOR PROGRESS

That it is a compromise decision is obvious, especially when it calls for "the ultimate recognition of the rights of all concerned." This is the concession secured by the craft unionists who would split up the federal unions. Coming so soon after the convention of the A. F. of L. this decision must be recognized as a sign of the strengthening of the forces which stand for industrial unionism. In this sense this decision can be used by the progressive forces within the A. F. of L. as a premise for a successful drive not only for the extension of the federal unions but also for the merger of the federal unions into genuine industrial unions.

GUARD AGAINST SPLITS

This can be done provided the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. and the rank and file in the federal unions are not coaxed into some new "fly-by-night" schemes of grandiose new labor movements. That this is a real menace is evident from the present position of the official Communist Party and of A. J. Muste, who speak we presume for his brand new American Workers Party. The official Com-

munist Party says (Daily Worker, February 23, 1934) that its main task is that of "bringing together the independent and revolutionary trade unions into an INDEPENDENT FEDERATION OF LABOR." Already Muste speaks of the "inevitability" of the organization of an industrial union center and warns us that "All elements which are not outright reactionary, whether in the A. F. of L. or outside, would rally to such a center."

What is missing in the position of the official Communist Party as well as of Muste is the desire, the will to organize and coordinate the struggle within the A. F. of L. for genuine progressive unionism. Yet, this is precisely what the situation calls for.

HOTEL STRIKE ENDS

The Hotel workers strike is at last officially ended, after a lingering death of almost two weeks, without the slightest improvement in the conditions of the workers. Despite all the manipulations and kow-towing to the NRA Labor Board, the strike leadership of Gitlow and Fields has been able to secure nothing for the workers. Once again it is demonstrated that abject humility before the bosses and their Labor Board means demoralization and defeat for the workers. Since that was the policy of Gitlow and Fields the results were a foregone conclusion.

A face saving impartial committee (Judge Panken, Rabbi Wise, etc.) has been set up for the purpose of placing the workers back on their jobs but the hotel owners continue to refuse to deal either with the Amalgamated Food Workers Union or even with committees of the workers formerly employed by them.

The attitude of the workers to the strike settlement and to the leaders responsible for it (Gitlow, Fields) was quite evident at the last strike meeting at which Gitlow was booed when he attempted to defend the settlement, and the meeting of the union executive, two days later, at which the report of Secretary Fields was rejected with all votes against two.

The progressives in the union must get on the job immediately to guard against the destruction of the union because of the disappointment in the strike settlement and the disgust with the present leadership. Only the ejection of the discredited leadership of Gitlow and Fields and the setting up of a progressive leadership will save the Amalgamated today.

It is rumored, though nothing official has appeared in the Trotskyist press, that B. J. Fields and his supporters in the Union have been expelled from the Trotskyist group. We welcome this act, for it is a discredit to communism to have a reactionary of the type of B. J. Fields carry a communist label, even tho it be the Trotskyist brand.

Have the "Militants" Retreated?

At a recent discussion, at the New Workers School, in which Comrade Lovestone spoke on "Whither the American Socialist Party?" a number of militants indignantly denied that their position on Russia had in any way undergone a change or that they have retreated from any previously held position.

Now, we must state clearly that it is no crime to change or retreat from a position provided there is adequate justification for that.

But it is a serious mistake to modify one's position and deny vigorously that one has done so. That does not lead to greater clarity but rather to confusion. Now let us see what the facts are.

At the City Convention of the Socialist Party of New York in December 1930, the militants came forward with a resolution on Russia in which they maintained that 1. The Soviet Government is a workers government; 2. That the Soviet Union is building Socialism; 3. That what is taking place

in Russia is consistent with Socialist Philosophy and with Marxism; 4. That the anti-Soviet Mensheviks are playing a counter-revolutionary role.

There was nothing in that resolution about the extension of democracy nor yet about democratizing the soviets. That did not appear until about one and half years later when the barrage of O'Neal and the "friendly advice" of Norman Thomas forced them into the following position at the City Convention in June of 1932.

The City Convention: "... insistently urges upon the government that a greater measure of political democracy be granted to the Russian workers in line with the spirit of Socialist philosophy."

Here we already note that the "spirit of Socialist philosophy" has undergone a remarkable change. This change becomes even more basic in the resolutions proposed at present for the National Convention of the Socialist Party, you changed your position?

BOOKS

THE WELL OF DAYS by Michael V. Bunin. Albert Knopf & Co., New York.

One does not see why the jury should have picked such an author as Bunin, at least as reflected in "The Well of Days", as world significant. Maybe he is; but then only negatively, as an example of what is no longer, of what has been left behind. That story of an embittered white Russian, writing in Paris about his old ancestral manor, the pleasantly devoted servants on his grounds, the peasant girl who, classically, was his first seduction, seems far indeed from present day preoccupations. Perhaps the Swedish jury planned the move and exalted Bunin as a counterfoil to the very great success, diplomatic and otherwise, that the Soviets have been enjoying in the world in the last number of years.

Apart from the literary value, not very great at that, the book is not without some historical and psychological elements of interest. It shows exceedingly well what a dreaming, ineffectual upper class Russia had, even when its members, as the author's elder brother, were adherents of the radical intelligencia. How encouraging to think that the big country's life and leadership is safely centered elsewhere. This dreamy backwardness is not without its own tale of political and sociological value. The author spends pages about his youthful hankering after the middle ages, its moral aspect, its ideas of hierarchical loyalty to temporal and spiritual authority. He himself is really medieval when he depicts his encounter with one of the Grand Dukes, a handsome giant in a red Hussar's uniform, who dazzled him for life.

One feels relieved when one remembers that Russia is now the land of the Gosplan, the Second Five Year Plan and of Dniepostroy.

—Jeanne Michel

THE DRESSMAKERS PROGRAM (Continued from Page 6)

years of crisis, we are proud to come before you with this record of achievement and with this program for the future and to ask you for your support. Our Union is a democratic organization; democracy is the fundamental principle on which it is built. In the past, we fought against the reactionary elements and against the dual unionist splitters and with your support we succeeded in defeating them both. With your support we succeeded in building up a strong Union and winning better conditions for the dressmakers in spite of all obstacles. We are confident that we will have your support for the future, in order to build up an even stronger Union ever capable and ever ready to defend the interests of the workers!

Support the candidates of the Dressmakers Progressive Group! Mobilize all workers in your shop in support of the progressive candidates!

Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

LOVESTONE-CANNON DEBATE

(Continued from Page 1)

ers only and they, he said, were in the Russian jails. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat has become merely a "parasitic growth" and the leadership of the C.P.S.U. was characterized as "these Russian scoundrels."

The main issues clarified in this debate were: The basically anti-communist character upon which the "Fourth International" is being based and the viciously anti-soviet character of present-day Trotskyism.

When what is demanded is not "a greater measure of political democracy" in the abstract but the democratization of the Soviets. The resolution states:

"... We do so particularly in the hope that the industrial advances to be made will permit the Soviets to democratize their industrial and political framework"

Well, Comrade Militant, have you changed your position?

COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

51 West 14th Street
New York, N. Y.

Please send me information in reference to the policies and activity of the C. P. O.

Name

Address

City

State